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*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

● 128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

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128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/665 cont./

143 used in population genetics for the construction of models indicating the mode of evolution of a concentration of genes in the course of time. In this general hypothesis it is postulated that: the population is closed; marriage is random; fertility is the same for all couples. If in this case the population is unlimited, the frequency of the three varieties of zygotes, A/A, A/a, a/a (monohybrid diallel), remains constant from generation to generation (Hardy-Weinberg Law, N. D.L.R.).

/666/ /Map No. 1 appears here./

143 582 The actual situation is entirely different; the social stratification entails very strict endogamy at the ethnic and caste level, endogamy reinforced by preferential marriages as well as by residential proximity. Some authors (1), Soh [1],

1. The numbers in brackets refer to the bibliographic references at the end of the article.

Gaden [2], M'Bow [3], have already described the origin and causes of these local ethnic and social differences and also the types of marriages, but quantitative observations only permit one to measure endogamy. After reviewing the method of study used, we shall indicate the principal results of these observations.

128 143 Method of study. In Europe, and notably in France, consanguinity and geographical endogamy have been determined by means of the frequency of marriages from the third to the sixth degree inclusive, that is to say, especially between first and second cousins, and also by studying the distance between the domiciles of future spouses. It is possible to know the frequency

[Text continues middle of P. 3 -- Analyst]

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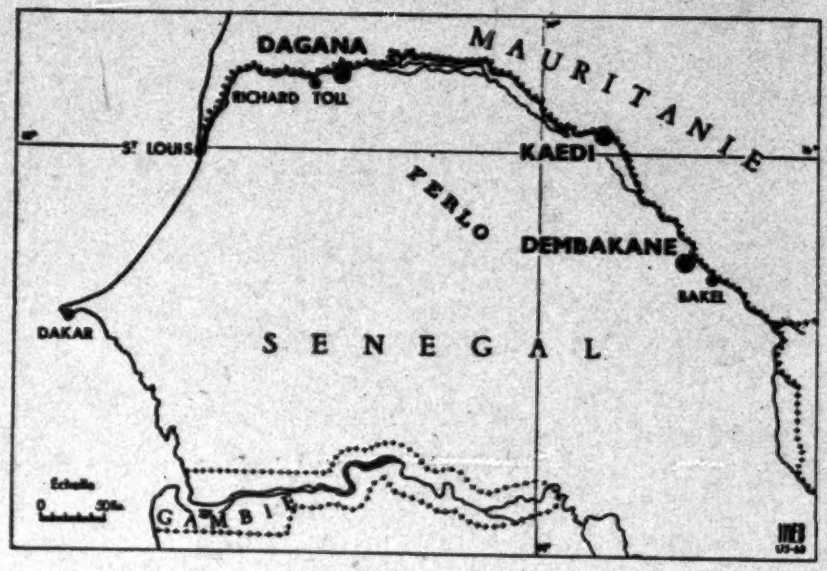

Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

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143 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

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143 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

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125 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy.

S7 /673 cont./

582 143 565 Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	Total %	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fisher-men	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

S 582 143 the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

S [114] [128]

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587 representation of the degree of endogamy in a population is the
143 mean coefficient of consanguinity (1). Its value, multiplied by
[128]

1. The mean coefficient of consanguinity of a population represents the probability that two homologous loci of an individual taken at random in the population under consideration are identical. Two analogous conclusions exist in the literature on genetics: the coefficient F of Wright and the α of Bernstein. For more details, see Serra and Soini, Population, 1959, pp. 70-72 (N.D.L.R.).

1,000, has been reported /674/ here in Tables III and IV for each of the partial populations studied. It is a little less than one would have expected from the frequency of consanguineous marriages. If there is, in fact, a not insignificant number of double cousins among the spouses, one also finds an important
[595] number of cousins descended from half brothers or half sisters. Nearly one-half of the consanguineous unions concern individuals of this category because of the frequency of successive and simultaneous unions (polygamy).

For the whole of the ethnic groups studied (Table III), its value reaches 8.7, and for each of the specific ethnic groups: Toucouleur 7.6; Wolof 9.5; Peul 12.2; Saracolé 12.7. For the Toucouleur castes (Table IV) one finds the following values: captives 4.2; fishermen 8.2; torobé 10.9; artisans 13.6.

143 Comparisons with other countries. The highest coefficient found up to now, 24.08 (Ishikuni and Coll., 1960 [12]) concerns a Japanese island, Hosojima, populated by 125 inhabitants, which thus represents a very small isolate and is mentioned only incidentally with reference to the demographic conditions in which most human populations live.

In order to appreciate the high endogamic level of the valley of the Senegal, let us emphasize that one finds analogous figures for the present day only in Brazil (Freire-Maia,

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 166 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S
162 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group.
128 Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S
W
162 The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

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166 Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

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III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 ●128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

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Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

[571]

VI. Habitat and Family

• 128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

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Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/," Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

17: Mercier--23 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/23 cont./ 369x 592

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]